1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 796 [184] (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives.

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed."

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

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Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

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In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

> Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

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*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very [565 626] often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The *563 [626] marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and some- *563 • 59 what for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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*563 •59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

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2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.